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Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3432nd Meeting
Friday, 30 September 1994, 4.45 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo	(Spain)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Bratinka
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Report by the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Somalia (S/1994/1068)

94-86494 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 5.05 p.m.

Expression of welcome

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* At the outset, I should like to express my pleasure at the presence at the Security Council table of His Excellency Mr. Pevel Bratinka, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic, whom I welcome on behalf of the Council.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

Report by the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Somalia (S/1994/1068)

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Somalia in which she requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Hassan (Somalia) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report by the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Somalia, document S/1994/1068.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1119, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Rwanda and Spain. France, Nigeria, New Zealand and the United Kingdom have joined those sponsors of the draft resolution.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution before it.

Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution (S/1994/1119) to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:
Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Against:
None

Abstaining:
United States of America

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, none against, and 1 abstention. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 946 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French):* France has voted in favour of this technical resolution extending the mandate of UNOSOM until 31 October 1994. My country is aware that the lack of progress towards a political solution and the impotence of that force at this time justify a genuine, thorough debate in the Security Council - a debate after which decisions regarding the future of UNOSOM and the maintenance of the United Nations presence in Somalia should be taken.

This summer, France supported a progressive reduction of UNOSOM forces with a view to the end of the operation in March 1995, as scheduled in Security Council resolutions. We still support that schedule, even if we are ready to participate in a debate on this subject. It would be a serious decision for the Security Council to terminate a force prematurely. Thus, this debate must be based on precise information and recommendations of the Secretary-General, which he is to include in the report that he intends to submit to the Council on 15 October next.

In any case, my country considers that the United Nations should continue, in one way or another, to play a role in Somalia, with a view to consolidating the achievements of UNOSOM, helping to achieve national reconciliation, if that is within the Organization's power, and providing humanitarian assistance and contributing to the reconstruction of the country.

Until that debate takes place the Somali parties must be aware of the consequences of the decisions that the Council may have to adopt. France appeals to them once again to settle their quarrels and promote genuine national reconciliation. The time has truly come to convene the conference that has been postponed so often. Only a political solution will enable the economy and the institutions to be rebuilt with the assistance of the international community. But it is clear that the international community cannot take the place of the Somalis, who are solely responsible for their own future.

Mr. Al-Sameen (Oman) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: I should like, at the outset, to thank the Secretary-General through you for his report on the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). My delegation has studied this report carefully and with great interest. My delegation has also followed the verbal reports that the Security Council has been receiving from the Secretariat from time to time. There is no doubt that the Secretary-General's report reflects the regrettable situation that now prevails in Somalia despite the great international efforts that have been deployed to help the brotherly Somali people.

My delegation has observed that UNOSOM II has redeployed its personnel in such a way that it has now become concentrated in three locations only. It is regrettable that this redeployment is with the aim of enabling the forces to protect themselves as a result of the fact that UNOSOM II units have been subjected to attacks by the armed militias in Somalia.

On previous occasions, my country's delegation has voiced its belief that the resolution of the Somali problem is a responsibility borne by the Somalis themselves. On many occasions, we have reiterated that the duty of the United Nations and of the international community, in the first instance, is to help the Somalis to overcome their plight.

Once again, we underline our conviction that the resolution of the Somali problem is the responsibility of the Somalis themselves. Unfortunately, they have not responded positively or shown any desire, so far, to solve the problems arising from their differences. Therefore, we do not see any justification for the continued presence of the United Nations forces in Somalia. The human and great financial resources allocated to that military presence in Somalia could be channelled to humanitarian purposes in that country.

Once again we urge the Somali leaderships to assume their responsibilities and work toward ending their differences. We urge them to achieve national reconciliation and go on to apply and implement the agreements regarding their problem into which they have entered.

Our reading of the resolution just adopted shows, as we felt in the consultations that preceded its drafting, that the Security Council's patience is running thin and that next October will mark a decisive stage in the United Nations Operation in Somalia. The support of the United Nations now depends on what can be achieved during the coming month, and is conditional on the achievement by the Somali factions of national reconciliation. It is also conditional on the start of the implementation of the agreements those factions reached among themselves. We hope the Somali leaders will respond to the various appeals addressed to them and that they will seize this last opportunity to begin the reconstruction of their country and achieve the aspirations of the Somali people, who have suffered quite enough.

In conclusion, although we would have preferred the resolution to have included a clear and clear-cut reference to this decisive stage through which the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) is passing, including the possibility of winding up the operation in its entirety, we voted in favour of the resolution which has just been adopted in the belief that this might be the last chance for the brotherly people of Somalia to overcome its plight and solve its problems.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Throughout the current four-month mandate of UNOSOM there have been two constants in Somalia: continuing deterioration of the security situation and total lack of progress on political reconciliation. Each of the Secretary-General's reports - in July, in August and again in September - has said the security situation is getting worse. General deterioration has been punctuated by violent attacks on United Nations peace-keepers. During the last four months Zimbabwean, Indian and Malaysian soldiers have joined the ranks of over 140 peace-keepers who have died in Somalia. The Secretary-General's

latest report continues the grim litany of past losses and future danger. Concern has now reached such proportions that the UNOSOM Force Commander has been compelled to withdraw from many areas in Somalia, and by next month all troops will be concentrated in only three cities.

While the security environment has been getting worse, the political situation has not got better. The sole legacy of the past four months is a pile of broken promises. When the Council last considered the UNOSOM mandate, in May, we were waiting for the Somali factions to finally hold a national reconciliation preparatory conference that had already been postponed four times. Sadly, as we sit here today, four months later, we are still waiting. In August, and again in September, we were told a separate Hawiye clan conference was a necessary precursor to national reconciliation and that we had to wait for that. Today we learned that that conference also did not meet as scheduled and will not meet in the future. Yet some still say the Council should delay action and that another Conference, some time in October, will bring political reconciliation. Looking at the trail of broken promises left by the Somali factions, my Government will not listen to another assurance of just one more month, just one more conference.

The time has come to bring this United Nations mission to a conclusion. UNOSOM is draining away scarce human and financial resources that would be better used by the international community elsewhere. While UNOSOM has accomplished a great deal, saving hundreds of thousands of Somalis from starvation, its further continuation cannot be justified. In the face of Somali intransigence and unwillingness to reach political agreement, UNOSOM cannot continue to maintain 15,000 troops in Somalia and spend over $2.5 million a day.

The resolution adopted today fails to come to grips with the realities of the situation in Somalia. It puts off any decision on UNOSOM's future for yet another month. My Government believes the gravity of the situation, spelled out in the Secretary-General's own report, does not countenance such delay. Rather, the Council should agree now to a withdrawal of UNOSOM, in a safe and orderly manner, to be completed by the end of the year. Because the draft resolution failed to recognize the necessity of stepping up to the critical task of withdrawal now, my Government could not vote for it.

At the same time, however, conscious of the need to continue the mandate for the protection of the troops during the withdrawal period, my Government was not willing at this time to vote against an extension. It is our firm hope and expectation that the Secretary-General will utilize the coming days to complete planning for the withdrawal and in his next report provide the Council with a realistic proposal for an orderly and expeditious withdrawal. We see no reason why such a report cannot be presented in the near future to permit the Council to consider and act on withdrawal well before the end of today's one-month extension.

There should be no doubt about my Government's position, however. The Council's principal concern from now on must be the safe withdrawal of UNOSOM's forces. My Government stands ready to work with other members of the Council to bring that about. But time is running short. The threat to United Nations peace-keepers increases by the day. Another was shot only yesterday. Neither we nor they can afford further delay in concluding the mission in Somalia.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French):* It is true that the question of Somalia primarily concerns the Somalis themselves. But it is equally true that it is an African question, and more specifically a question for the subregion known as the Horn of Africa.

No resolution could properly address this question without taking into account these three elements: the Somali parties involved in the situation, the surrounding countries and Africa as a whole. The failure of previous resolutions should not make us stop looking for more appropriate solutions than those adopted so far.

My delegation would like to ask the Security Council and the Secretary-General to avoid another Rwanda, from which no one has yet recovered. In voting for the draft resolution, my delegation therefore wished to encourage a search for solutions to the Somali situation involving African regional and subregional organizations in the implementation of the four action points contained in the resolution.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his report on the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), dated 17 September 1994. We are awaiting the second part of the report, which is to contain the Secretary-General's assessment of the prospects of national reconciliation and recommendations for the

future of the United Nations operation in Somalia. This second part will include the results of the recent visit to Somalia of the Under-Secretary General for Peace-keeping Operations, Mr. Kofi Annan, whose initial impressions we heard yesterday with interest at the informal meeting with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II).

The current situation in Somalia certainly does not lend itself to optimism. Despite the limited progress that has been made in the attempts to achieve reconciliation between the Somali factions, it has not yet been possible to convene the long-awaited preparatory meeting of the conference on national reconciliation, which has been postponed for months.

At the same time, the security situation in the area continues to be alarming; it has deteriorated and there is no hint of any improvement, as demonstrated by the many militia attacks on those providing humanitarian assistance and on the personnel of UNOSOM II, resulting in the casualties we all deplore.

This sombre scenario indicates that the activities of the militias are continuing and expanding, independent of any agreement entered into by the heads of the Somali factions. This situation is restricting and indeed endangering the freedom of movement and the very effectiveness of UNOSOM II and the humanitarian agencies in discharging their mandates.

Indeed, the commander of the force has been compelled to begin preparations for reducing the number of personnel and concentrating them in three areas: Mogadishu, Baidoa and Kismayu. This is symptomatic of the current uncertainty affecting a continued United Nations presence in Somalia, with unavoidably adverse consequences on the important humanitarian assistance work the international community is carrying out in this country.

In accordance with resolution 946 (1994), just adopted by the Council, and in conformity with the Secretary-General's recommendations, the mandate of UNOSOM II has been extended for a one-month period, until 31 October 1994, while we await the Secretary-General's complete assessment and recommendations. This resolution emphasizes the importance the Council attaches to the need for a detailed analysis of UNOSOM II's mandate and very future. As my delegation firmly believes, this will provide the essential elements for the adoption of the most realistic decision, without entirely abandoning the Somali people to their fate.

Spain co-sponsored the draft resolution that has just been adopted as a responsible member of the Council which considers that a decision that affects the future of any United Nations peace-keeping operation, and particularly an operation of this importance, cannot be made precipitously and in the absence of all the necessary criteria. The contents of the resolution itself send a clear message to the Somali factions that the international community's patience is coming to an end. Today more than ever, the Somali parties must show their sincere interest in achieving national reconciliation and peace in their country, enabling the Somali people to regain hope and to take charge of their own fate. Otherwise, it would be difficult to justify the maintenance of a United Nations presence in Somalia as it currently exists.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.